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Pukapukan food is invariably dry food that can be divided into separate shares without the aid of food containers other than the coconut platter and coconut shell. This sharing pattern leads to the grumbling of the *kaitangi*, the person who thinks he has been given less than his rightful share of food in the food division, whether of household or village feast. There are many references in the stories to trouble caused by people who were *kaitangi*. To a person who grumbles about his food, the classic reply is, "Wano koe aumai te kaitangi no Yele" (Go and get the food share that did not satisfy Yele), the implication being that even if the *kaitangi's* food shares were as large as Yele's in the story (1), he would still be dissatisfied. In another story, that of Watu-manava-nui, it is the dissatisfaction of Kumawawine that leads her to betray her own Yayake people to the Tongan warriors, with the result that all her people, including herself, were killed by the Tongans and Pukapukans. The person who grumbles over his share of nuts is told, "Wano koe ki te niu o Totoloa" (Go to the nut tree of Totoloa). This refers to the god Totoloa's magical tree from which a nut was picked, eaten, and then put together again and thrown into the tree, where it flourished as before.

SUMMARY OF ECONOMIC SYSTEM

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Because old age does not bring with it fear of economic insecurity, there is no incentive to hoard wealth. Old people are cared for by children and relatives, and no one ever suffers from lack of food or shelter. The life of the lazy man might be materially easy, but he would suffer much through ridicule; there would be few whose pride could stand the blow of being allotted only a child's share of food. It is noteworthy that laziness never enters as a theme of stories.

The village of Ngake makes more copra than the other villages and each person in Ngake receives slightly more money from the proceeds of the semi-annual sale of copra than do the people of the other villages, but this does not mean that the increased wealth of Ngake villagers can be used to tyrannize over the other two villages. The money is spent on clothes or tobacco and increases personal prestige, not economic power.

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The economic system is so well integrated with environment and social structure that it has stood firm under the impact of an alien culture when other aspects of Pukapukan society have been lost. Needs are well provided for, individual skill is appreciated, insecurity is absent, and the accumulation of wealth has for its end redistribution in the interests of increased prestige. Minor flaws in the system come from occasional inequalities in food distribution; these are temporary and never serious enough to disrupt the functioning of the major patterns, which draw their strength from the basic social structure.

102 The consciousness of the breaking of a tapu is clear from the man's remark in this
835 sense that his love for his wife *ata* is *kai luma* (food of shameful abnormality) and, further, *kai malaga* (incest).

No reference to male *ata* incest is found in any of the myths or folktales recorded.

182 The kinship tapus are best preserved today among the older people.
602 Among the younger generations, several male *ata* have married:

588 In one such marriage, the husband had to trick his protesting relatives by being
177 secretly married. This was only possible because the Cook Islands Act allows male *ata* to marry, and the resident agent had to perform the civil rite. Another marriage occurred just before we left Palapuka. The bride's mother's brother refused to attend the marriage or to have anything further to do with his classificatory daughter. The groom's father at first objected because he feared the marriage would be sterile, probably owing to the breaking of the tapu, and his descent line depended on issue to the marriage. His fear was increased by the fact that though his son had been courting the bride for several years, no child had been born. The father finally yielded to the entreaties of missionary friends. Witnesses predict that the marriage will be sterile, which is the very last that can be hoped for, apart altogether from visitations of sickness.

602 No purpose is served by traversing at this stage the actual functioning of the kinship system. It presents no features that call for special comment. Economic obligations associated with kinship relationships are discussed elsewhere. Similarly the importance of the kinship group in personal ceremonial is mentioned in the description of rites at birth, marriage, and death.

THE LIFE CYCLE

BIRTH

CONCEPTION

542 Conception is known as *te mahatitanga o te tama* (the placing in of the child). The period of gestation is called *te mahatitanga* or *te itonga*. The primary meaning of the word *ito* is "to germinate" as in the sentence: "*Ko te seme ko ito ai te tama*" (it is the semen which makes the child germinate). The following is a typical explanation of conception given by a woman informant:

842 Conception involves an organ (*sema*) in both the male and female (*sema* is given
831 elsewhere as meaning "lung"). The male secretion enters the female *sema*, the female
753 secretion enters the male *sema*. The informant was unable to specify the exact location of this organ, though she thought the native practitioners would know. On being
833 pressed to indicate the locus of the *sema* in her own body, she pointed to her stomach and said the *sema* was close to it. She knew that it is the *sema* that germinates the ovum, but could give no rationalization as to the method. She also said that it is the *sema* which generates the male and female secretions, and should this organ dry up, as it often does, then the person affected becomes thin and sickly, suffering from debility. This is a common disease in Palapuka according to informant, one cause of which is too frequent coitus. Five or six times in succession on the same day or night, informant explained, would be too frequent.

842 The theory of conception was discussed with Pau, a native medicine man. His theory is that the semen of the man coagulates the blood in the uterus of the woman. This

527 In the morning the Loto women had danced in a place on the
535 ala where I could see them from the house. In the afternoon,
8:14 the Henrys [the resident agent and his wife] visited and sat
152 on the verandah. The Ngake women refused to dance where
I could see them, and danced on that part of the ala which is
hidden from our house by an intervening house. The reason:
knowing the Henrys' victorian sensibilities, they knew full
well that Henry would disapprove of the dancing. Rather than
curb their fun, for which indeed there was no reason to do, they
referred to remain hidden, an implication being, I think, that
the women and men are fully aware of the sexual symbolisms
involved in this apparently mild Christmas dancing.

The second incident: During the course of Ngake dancing,
P [Pearl Beaglehole] went out to dance with the Ngake women.
Yato men, half in jest, half in seriousness, begged her to
leave and not watch their dancing, saying that she would tell
their wives afterwards what she saw. The implication here
being, one supposes, that the proper place for a Yato woman
was with the other women of this village, who might enjoy
themselves how they could for this day with men from the
other villages, but that for this day at least, Yato men should
have full right to enjoy themselves with women from the other
two villages, unspied upon by a woman from their own village,
who might later tell tales 'out of school'.

178 Note that throughout this day of dancing in the village, there
182 has been no suggestion that any actual promiscuity in the
154 sexual sense has occurred. It is possible, however, that if the
idea of tutaka dancing is old, occurring formerly perhaps, at
the time of takalunga of the rising of the stars mataliki, when
much dancing and sport seems to have taken place, then sexual
promiscuity in connection with it very likely occurred also,
and in this case a day and mechanism was elaborated for
conventionalizing with social approval what would otherwise
be likely to cause rents in the social fabric.

527 Finish of Tutaka: All three teams of women dancers proceed
to Loto village, and dance competitively against each other
to determine the best dancing team. Ngake was adjudged the
best by the men of Yato, and the latter presented to the wo-
men of Ngake a shark-skin drum made by Makilae. The wo-
men danced until dusk and then the day was ended, save for
a hangover of stomach disorders and mild fevers.

526 Men's activities: During the past weeks the men have been
461 also practising cricket, usually every afternoon and early
evening. This in preparation for the series of cricket matches
taking place on the three days after Boxing Day. During this
practise period, other work has been at a standstill, and

interference with his plans. When it was lowered and he had returned to normal, there was no thought of continuing the torture of the woman he loved. 154

I have given the facts and have suggested that there is some necessity for explaining how the friendly, kind, sympathetic and generous Pukapukan comes to act in a way that is the reverse of all these qualities. It would seem that the function of such violent behavior, whether institutionalized, socially approved for the moment by a social group making new laws to fit the immediate situation, or individually patterned by a personality strong enough to defy opposition, is to provide an outlet for repressed aggression and anxiety that can find little satisfaction in the ordinary give and take of social life among a closely integrated group, extraverted in its culture patterns but forced to live a cooped life on a tiny coral atoll. Such tendencies being for the moment satisfied, the group can lapse back into more normal patterns of behavior and take up again, without undue strain, the petty annoyances and pleasures of everyday living. 578 154 132●

The facts so far given refer to a Polynesian atoll, but behavior patterns similar to those described were not unknown among another Polynesian people, the Maori of New Zealand. The Maori tribe, the unit in which and for which the individual existed, was as circumscribed and isolated in its territory as any island group. Tribal ethics placed great value on group loyalty, solidarity, and cohesion. Yet because of individual aggressive tendencies the typical Maori tribe was a hotbed of petty jealousies, strifes and violent competitions between family groups over points of status and punctilios of honor. The major catharsis for an intolerable conflict between ideals of group loyalty and individual desires was inter-tribal warfare. A shamed or humiliated individual might sometimes provoke such warfare by deliberately and secretly going to the territory of another tribe and there just as deliberately killing all whom he could. Responsibility for the outrage would be assigned collectively to the tribe of the killer, and before the latter realized what was in the wind the avengers would sweep down, clamoring for blood and killing indiscriminately men, women and children. Thus outraged pride or dignity resulted in a type of aggressive behavior that could be satisfied only by the destruction of the members of one's own group. 171

In conclusion I would add that the material here given suggests further implications for social psychology. The observer who takes account of the relation of the individual to the group in these closely integrated units of the pre-literate peoples, is 121